

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 IO-14 ISO-00 EURE-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 SAM-01

INRE-00 CIAE-00 PM-07 H-03 INR-11 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-07

RSC-01 PRS-01 SP-03 SS-20 OMB-01 AID-20 CCO-00 DRC-01

ACDA-19 TRSE-00 SAJ-01 /139 W
----- 038992

Z O 301338Z JUL 74

FM AMEMBASSY ANKARA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC FLASH 5360

INFO AMEMBASSY ATHENS IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY NICOSIA IMMEDIATE

USMISSION USUN IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE

USMISSION NATO IMMEDIATE

USMISSION GENEVA IMMEDIATE

USDOCOSOUTH IMMEDIATE

USCINCEUR IMMEDIATE

DIA WASHDC IMMEDIATE

AMCONSUL ISTANBUL IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T ANKARA 6044

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, PINT, CY, TU

SUBJ: TURKISH PLANNING AND THINKING ABOUT THE FUTURE

1. IT IS BY NOW OBVIOUS TO ALL THAT TURKS ARE DETERMINED TO HANG VERY TOUGH IN INITIAL GENEVA NEGOTIATIONS AND ARE NOT PREPARED TO EXTEND THEMSELVES VERY FAR TO "SAVE" THIS FIRST PHASE-DESPIT COUNSEL OF THEIR FRIENDS AND PRESSURES ORGANIZED BY THOSE WHOM THEY DO NOT REGARD AS THEIR FRIENDS.

2. LOOKING AT SITUATION IN SOMEWHAT LONGER TERM, IT IS EMBASSY'S JUDGMENT THAT TURKS OF ALL STRIPES ARE UNITED IN INTENTION TO SQUEEZE ALL POSSIBLE GAINS FROM CURRENT CYPRIOT SITUATION. ALTHOUGH THERE

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ARE UNDOUBTEDLY SHADES OF DIFFERENCES BETWEEN AND WITHIN CIVILIAN AND

MILITARY GROUPS, WE DO NOT BELIEVE THAT WHAT WE HAVE HERE IS A SITUATION WHERE THE MILITARY ARE DRAGGING ALONG A RELUCTANT PM ECEVIT. IT WOULD BE A SERIOUS MISTAKE TO CONSIDER ECEVIT AS A WEAK FIGUREHEAD. EDITORIAL IN TODAY'S MILLIYET PUT THE MATTER WELL WHEN IT SAID -ECEVIT IS AN AMIABLE NEGOTIATOR WHO IS ALMOST NEVER IMPOLITE...BUT WHEN HE IS PUSHED TO GRANT CONCESSIONS WHICH HE CANNOT GRANT, HE BECOMES HARD

AND THE WORLD'S MOST STUBBORN MAN." PUT IN ANOTHER WAY, IT WOULD IN OUR JUDGMENT BE A SERIOUS MISTAKE TO THINK THAT WE HAVE HERE ANY CONFLICT, OF SERIOUS PROPORTIONS, BETWEEN MILITARY HAWKS AND CIVILIAN DOVES.

3. IT MAY SEEM PARADOXICAL THAT TURKS ARE TAKING UTMOST ADVANTAGE OF OPPORTUNITY TO EXPAND THEIR FORCE ON ISLAND, BUT NOT TO SIGNIFICANTLY EXPAND TERRITORY. OUR ANALYSIS OF TURKISH THINKING ON CYPRUS STRATEGY, HOWEVER, LEADS TO THE FOLLOWING TENTATIVE CONCLUSIONS:

A. TURKS WANT A SECURE TERRITORIAL BASE WHICH INCLUDES A PORTION OF NORTHERN CYPRUS SEACOAST. WITH THIS BASE ESTABLISHED, THEY WILL NOT ONLY INCREASE THEIR BARGAINING CHIPS IN GENEVA AND IN ANY OTHER FUTURE NEGOTIATIONS, BUT THEY WILL ALSO FEEL IN MUCH STRONGER POSITION SO THAT IF IN FUTURE ENOSIS SHOULD TAKE PLACE IT COULD BE MADE DOUBLE ENOSIS. MOREOVER, IT IS SOMETIMES FORGOTTEN, IN STRATEGIC TERMS, THAT CYPRUS COMMANDS APPROACHES TO TURKEY'S THREE MAJOR SOUTHERN PORTS (ANTALYA, MERSIN, ISKENDERUN), AND THE TURKS ARE DETERMINED THAT IN THE FUTURE THE GREEKS ON CYPRUS WILL NOT BE IN POSITION TO THREATEN INTERDICTION OF THESE.

B. TO MAINTAIN THIS TERRITORIAL BASE INDEFINITELY IN WHAT LIKELY REMAINS A HOSTILE ENVIRONMENT, AND TO HAVE MILITARY CAPABILITY TO NEUTRALIZE CYPRUS' POTENTIAL STRATEGIC USEFULNESS TO GREECE, TURKS WILL NEED TO MAINTAIN LARGE GARRISON THERE AND RETAIN UNRESTRICTED RIGHTS TO REINFORCE AND RESUPPLY IT.

4. BEYOND THIS GENERAL STRATEGIC THINKING, THE GOT AND OTHER TURKISH LEADERS ARE NOT YET COLLECTIVELY CERTAIN WHAT SPECIFICALLY THEY WANT FOR LONG RUN CYPRIOT SETTLEMENT EXCEPT (A) NEVER TO RETURN

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TO ARRANGEMENTS WHICH BEGAN IN 1960, (B) GAIN GREATER AUTONOMY (WHATSOEVER THAT PRECISELY MEANS) FOR TURK CYPRIOTS ON THE ISLAND, AND (C) PREVENT, IF POSSIBLE, THE RETURN TO POWER OF MAKARIOS. HALUK UL-MAN'S COMMENTS TO AMB BUGGUM (GENEVA 4857) PROBABLY ARE AS GOOD A REFLECTION AS ANY OF TURKISH THINKING UP TO THIS POINT. BUT WE STRESS

AGAIN THAT TURKEY IS STILL CONSIDERING ITS LONGER TERM POLICY, AND ONCE THIS FIRST PHASE IN GENEVA ENDS THEY WILL BE CAREFULLY EXAMINING

FUTURE COURSE. SO FAR THEIR BASIC POINT IS TO KEEP THEIR MILITARY IN STRONG CYPRUS POSITIONS AND, AS NICOSIA COMMENTED IN ITS 1945, TAKE A LONG TIME TO WORK OUT POLITICAL DETAILS.

5. DESPITE THE MANY FACTS TO THE CONTRARY, ALL OF THE OLD ANTI-US MYTHS ARE BEING DREDGED UP HERE. THESE WERE HEAVILY FUELED AT ONSET BY DEPT'S PRESS SPOKESMAN'S STATEMENT SOON AFTER SAMPSON COUP TO EFFECT THAT US DID NOT BELIEVE OUTSIDE INTERESTS HAD BEEN INVOLVED-A STATEMENT THAT HAS GOTTEN HEAVY AND HOSTILE PLAY HERE. AT LEAST SOME GOT OFFICIALS KNOW FULL WELL WE HAVE NOT SIDED WITH GREECE, BUT THE PUBLIC ONCE MORE SEES US IN THE FAMILIAR VILLAIN'S ROLE. IN SHARP CONTRAST, USSR'S ABOUT-FACE FROM ITS INITIAL PRO-TURK STANCE TO ITS PRO-MAKARIOS ACTIVITIES IN NEW YORK AND ELSEWHERE HAS BEEN LESS NOTED HERE IN PRESS THAN IT SHOULD HAVE BEEN. WE ARE MAKING CONCERTED EFFORT, HOWEVER, TO SPREAD THE CORRECT WORD ON BOTH SCORES.

6. AS A RESULT OF CYPRUS EVENTS, STANDING OF ECEVIT AND HIS PARTY, ON DOMESTIC POLITICAL FRONT, HAS BEEN SIGNIFICANTLY IMPROVED. THIS WILL CONTINUE TO BE THE CASE UNLESS TURKEY OVERPLAYS ITS HAND IN CYPRUS TO POINT THAT IT CREATES SERIOUS WORLD OPPROBRIUM. THUS, IF PROPERLY HANDLED IN THE DAYS AHEAD, THIS UNEXPECTED CRISIS COULD CHANGE THE LEADER OF A WEAK COALITION INTO A CURRENTLY POWERFUL POLITICAL FIGURE. WHILE OPPOSITION ELEMENTS WILL SOON TRY TO CUT HIM BACK DOWN TO SIZE (AND HIS NSP COALITION PARTNERS MAY CONTRIBUTE TO THAT) HIS STATUS IN THE SHORT RUN HAS RECEIVED AN ENORMOUS BOOST.

7. AS DEPT AWARE FROM OUR EARLIER REPORTING, EMBASSY BELIEVES ECEVIT'S PRESENCE IN OFFICE HAS BEEN STABILIZING FACTOR ON THE TURKISH INTERNAL SCENE IN THE SENSE THAT THE DISENCHANTED AND FRUSTRATED LEFT CONSIDER HIM "THEIR MAN". THEREFORE, SO LONG AS HE IS IN OFFICE (AND THEY DO NOT BECOME DISILLUSIONED WITH HIM), DISSIDENTS HERE WILL TEND TO BE FAR LESS RESTIVE THAN NORMAL. IN THIS SENSE ECEVIT'S STRENGTHENED POSITION IS A DEFINITE PLUS.

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8. ON THE OTHER HAND, ECEVIT'S LONG TERM OBJECTIVES AS REGARDS THE US TURKISH RELATIONSHIP ARE NOT ALTOGETHER CLEAR. THERE ARE MANY IN THIS COUNTRY WHO ASSERT THAT HE DOES NOT REP NOT WISH THAT RELATIONSHIP WELL--ALTHOUGH MANY OF THESE ASSERTIONS COME FROM OPPOSITION POLITICIANS AND ARE DESIGNED SPECIFICALLY FOR OUR EARS. THERE IS HOWEVER NO DENYING THAT CERTAIN ELEMENTS IN HIS PARTY ARE HOSTILE TO THE U.S.

9. THE IMPORTANT THING FOR THE CURRENT PERIOD HOWEVER, IS THAT ECEVIT --CERTAINLY FOR THE NEAR FUTURE--DEFINITELY WISHES CONTINUATION OF GOOD POLITICAL AND MILITARY RELATIONS WITH THE U.S. MOREOVER, IT IS OUR FEELING THAT AS A RESULT OF INTENSE HIGH LEVEL U.S.

TURKISH CONTACTS DURING RECENT DAYS, ECEVIT BELIEVES AN INTIMATE
TOP LEVEL RELATIONSHIP HAS BEEN RESTORED WHICH GIVES DEFINITE
POSSIBILITY FOR CLOSER AND BETTER RELATIONS IN THE DAYS AHEAD.
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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: INTERVENTION, POLITICAL STABILITY, POLITICAL SITUATION, PEACE TALKS, PUBLIC ATTITUDES, MILITARY PLANS, POLITICAL LEADERS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 30 JUL 1974
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: elyme
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1974ANKARA06044
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D740206-1026
From: ANKARA
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1974/newtext/t1974078/aaaaagck.tel
Line Count: 173
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 4
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: elyme
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 20 MAY 2002
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <20 MAY 2002 by boyleja>; APPROVED <25-Sep-2002 by elyme>
Review Markings:

Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
30 JUN 2005

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: TURKISH PLANNING AND THINKING ABOUT THE FUTURE
TAGS: PFOR, PINT, CY, TU, GENEVA, (ECEVIT, BULENT)
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005